

SECURITY MATTERS

Newsletter from the Centre for European Security Studies • Issue 8 • June 2002

NEW EIGHT-NATION RESEARCH EFFORT LAUNCHED AT GRONINGEN MEETING

In 1999-2000 the Centre for European Security Studies (CESS) ran a successful multinational research exercise within the framework of its Programme on European Security (PROGRES). The results of the endeavour – the reports of five Working Groups – were published in 2001 in our in-house Harmonie Papers series under the title Towards Shared Security: 7-Nation Perspectives.

At the beginning of 2002 the Centre initiated a broadly similar effort as part of its current emphasis on work related to South-Eastern Europe. We call this the ESCADA project, because its aim is to examine options and prospects for Extending Security Cooperation and harmonising Defence Arrangements in that region. For the new undertaking we have formed just two Study Groups, each of 16 members, two from each of the eight participating countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro (as we must now call what used to be the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), and Slovenia.

One of these teams (A) works under the Chairmanship of CESS's Research Director, David Greenwood. The other (B) is chaired by our Director, Peter Volten. These individuals are acting primarily as 'facilitators' and as *rapporteurs* for their Study Groups.

'The substantive work on the topics we are addressing will be done by the 16-member teams,' says Greenwood. 'They will be providing the information, insights and ideas for the enterprise', he adds, 'because the purpose of the exercise is to find out how ex-

perts from the region see the future of their neighbourhood.'

From 18-21 April the Study Groups convened for the first time in Groningen for a Planning Meeting. The inaugural get-together was an agenda-setting activity, first and foremost. However, to stimulate the experts' thinking they had the benefit of some external input. On the eve of the meeting proper, they were briefed by Andrew Hyde from the Office of the Special Co-ordinator of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe on the current priorities of that agency (see picture).

The next day they listened to presentations by Carlo Jean, sometime Special Representative of the OSCE's Chairman-in-Office to Bosnia-Herzegovina; James Appathurai from NATO; Colonel Philip Wilkinson of the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College, London; and former Polish deputy defence minister Andrzej Karkoszka, now Head of the Think Tank at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF).

The central agenda-setting business followed. It occupied three intensive sessions for each Study Group. (For more, see *Projects* on p. 2 overleaf.)

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Andrew Hyde briefing the ESCADA Study Groups on the eve of the Planning Meeting.

Board Chair

In April Piet-Hein Donner relinquished the Chair of the Centre for European Security Studies' Board, a position he had held since our foundation in 1993. He bade farewell at a private dinner in Groningen. Wim van Eekelen will chair the Board ad interim.

Less than a month after giving up his 'hot seat' on the CESS Board, our ex-Chairman found himself in another. On 17 May, Queen Beatrix appointed him her *Informateur* – charged to explore feasible coalition options after the election in The Netherlands on 15 May, and to advise on who might be asked to form the next government.

Programmes

Most of our 'education and training' effort at the moment is going into the **Democratic Control: Parliament and Parliamentary Staff Education Programme** for South-East Europe (DEMCON-SEE). There is a special News section dedicated to this programme, starting on p. 3 opposite

Projects

As reported on the *Newsletter's* front page, we have launched a new eight-country collaborative research effort to investigate **Extending Security Co-operation and Defence Arrangements** in South-Eastern Europe (the ESCADA project). The terms of reference of the two Study Groups that have been set up are: (A) Extending Security Co-operation, to review the experience of existing multi-lateral structures and to consider options for widening or deepening these frameworks; (B) Harmonising Security-Sector Reform and Defence Arrangements, to evaluate national experiences of reform of security forces and to consider options for harmonising future provision. The names of the 32 regional experts who are serving on these teams (2x16) – and of the eight National Co-ordinators who are contributing to the project – are in the panel on the right. At the April Planning Meeting each Study Group discussed how it would tackle its remit and writing assignments were agreed for the first phase of the work.



ESCADA Planning Meeting: Ambassador Turkovic (from Sarajevo) – listening attentively; Damir Grubisa (from Zagreb) – writing furiously.



Three men in a boat (Bulgarian Style): Todor Tagarev, Valeri Ratchev and Plamen Pantev in Groningen.

The second phase of the exercise will culminate in a Joint Study Groups' Meeting in Portoroz, Slovenia, at the beginning of October. The final event in the project calendar is a Concluding Conference, scheduled for Bucharest at the end of November.

Two other research projects were started in the early months of 2002. The **Transparency-Building Project, South-East Europe** (TBP-SEE) is a pioneering inquiry to gauge the extent to which transparency is practised in the conduct of security-sector affairs in eight countries (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, plus Serbia and Montenegro). Initially a portfolio of Country Transparency Profiles (CTPs) is being prepared. After discussion at a Research Roundtable these will be revised and brought together in a Transparency Audit Paper (TAP). An investigation of **Transparency and Accountability of Police forces And Security services** (TAPAS) is being conducted more or less in parallel, but independently. The country-coverage for this inquiry is more diverse: it includes Bulgaria, France, Italy, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom and the United States.

The research technique is similar, however. A series of Country Oversight Profiles (COPS) is being written. After discussion at a Roundtable these will be revised and consolidated.

The research on **Rebalancing European Defence Efforts**, funded under the NATO Fellowship scheme (Institutional) has been completed. At press time writing-up was in progress. The report will be ready in September.

ESCADA

Experts Study Group A:

Mladen Andric, Croatia
Josip Brkic, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Robertino Contev, Macedonia
Lublin Dilja, Albania
Sasko Dimevski, Macedonia
Iulian Fota, Romania
Damir Grubisa, Croatia
Branislav Lolic, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Ralitza Mateeva, Bulgaria
Mitja Mocnik, Slovenia
Alfred Moisiu, Albania
Adrian Pop, Romania
Todor Tagarev, Bulgaria
Jovan Teokarevic, Serbia & Montenegro
Vladimir Veres, Serbia & Montenegro
Vinko Vegic, Slovenia

Experts Study Group B:

Zija Bahja, Albania
Cornel Codita, Romania
Vlatko Cvrtila, Croatia
Corneliu Dobritoiu, Romania
Miroslav Filipovic, Serbia & Montenegro
Vladimir Gjoreski, Macedonia
Zoran Ivanovski, Macedonia
Zoran Jeftic, Serbia & Montenegro
Erik Kopac, Slovenia
Zvonimir Mahecic, Croatia
Valeri Ratchev, Bulgaria
Primoz Savc, Slovenia
Velizar Shalamonov, Bulgaria
Arian Starova, Albania
Slavisa Sucur, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Enes Zukanovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina

National Co-ordinators:

Petar Atanasov, Macedonia
Anton Bebler, Slovenia
Sokol Berberi, Albania
Denis Hadzovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Liviu Muresan, Romania
Dusan Nikolis, Serbia & Montenegro
Plamen Pantev, Bulgaria
Mladen Stanicic, Croatia

Stop Press

Congratulations to Alfred Moisiu, who on 24 June was elected President of Albania.

DEMCON-SEE CALENDAR

13-16 June, Sveti Stefan, Serbia and Montenegro

Essentials of Legislative Oversight

19-22 September, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Setting Up Mechanisms for Legislative Oversight

10-13 October, Zagreb, Croatia

Effective Arrangements for Legislative Oversight

1-3 November, Skopje, Macedonia

Legislative Oversight of the Security Sector in Macedonia

14-17 November, Tirana, Albania

Enhancing Democratic Control of the Armed Forces in Albania

PARTNERS

Albania: Centre on Parliamentary Studies (CPS), Tirana;

Bosnia-Herzegovina: Centre for Security Studies (CSS), Sarajevo;

Bulgaria: Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), Sofia;

Croatia: Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb;

Macedonia: Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (ISPPJ), Skopje;

Romania: European Institute for Risk, Security and Communication Management (EURISC), Bucharest;

Serbia and Montenegro: Institute for European Studies (IES), Belgrade.



Top table at the one-off Workshop in Bucharest, February 2002. From left: Jos Boonstra (CESS), Liviu Muresan (EURISC) speaking, Radu Podgoreanu (Romania), Petre Roman (Romania), David Greenwood (CESS) and Laura Cleary (US). (See report on p. 4 overleaf.)

CENTRE
FOR EUROPEAN
SECURITY
STUDIES.

DEMOCRATIC
CONTROL
SOUTH
EAST
EUROPE

NEWS

HOW ARE WE DOING?

Half-way stage has now been reached

We have reached the half-way stage in the **Democratic Control: Parliament and Parliamentary Staff Education** programme for **South-Eastern Europe** (DEMCON-SEE, for short). We are at the mid-point of the venture's three-year term. Nearly one-half of the activities scheduled for the undertaking have been held. (There are short reports on those that took place during the first five months of 2002 in the following pages of this *News* insert.)

There are lots of good things to report on the basis of experience to date. We had a very successful first *Regional Meeting* in Bucharest. As for the core sequence of *National Workshops*, we were fairly quickly on the scene, and warmly welcomed, in post-Milosevic Belgrade (in September 2001); and we have been there again since (see overleaf). Our first events in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, and our one-off *Workshop* in Romania, were similarly well received.

Pleasing, too, is the fact that in Belgrade, Tirana and Sarajevo our meetings have been supported – formally or informally – by the local OSCE presence, because the Organisation is also engaged in 'parliamentary support' in those capitals.

Another positive feature of 'the story so far' is that we have been generally very well served by the lecturers we have enlisted, some of whom have contributed to more than one Workshop. Yet another is that there is almost universal approval of our practice of arranging for guest legislators from the neighbourhood to attend each national meeting. Elected representatives say that they do value these opportunities to meet and exchange views with their counterparts.

We have had our problems also, however. There has still been no DEMCON activity in Macedonia. The Workshop scheduled for April 2002 had to be postponed: all being well it will now take place in late October/early November. More worrying is the poor attendance by sitting MPs – our key 'target group' – at some events, most recently the May 2002 meeting in Bulgaria (see the report overleaf).

Special circumstances may explain the very low turnout in Sofia, viz. the late announcement of a public holiday. Legislators at certain other locations, however, are beginning to show definite symptoms of *seminar fatigue* (or some related affliction). Happily there are also places – Sarajevo springs to mind – where there are no such signs, at least for the time being.

Workshops

Bucharest, Romania

Enhancing Policy and Financial Accountability

The sole DEMCON-SEE *Workshop* scheduled for Romania was held in the country's Senate building on 8 and 9 February 2002 (the House of Deputies having provided the venue for the earlier *Regional Meeting* in Bucharest). More than 40 legislators, staff and foreign participants attended the event.

Speakers at the opening session included the current chairmen of the defence committees of both the Senate (Sergiu Nicolaescu) and the House of Deputies (Razvan Ionescu) plus a former prime minister (Petre Roman). They were introduced by Liviu Muresan, who heads our partner institute in Romania (the EURISC foundation).

The central themes of the workshop were introduced by Laura Cleary (United States) and Tom McDonald (United Kingdom). Dr Cleary addressed the several dimensions of the elected representatives' responsibility for holding governments to account. Mr McDonald, who works on the defence team in Britain's National Audit Office, explained how such a 'watchdog' body can support parliamentarians in their scrutiny of the use of taxpayers' money.

These presentations provided the basis for open debate on policy and financial accountability – in parallel discussion groups chaired by members of the host country's legislature.



Sergiu Nicolaescu (Senate, Romania), Doru Laurian Badulescu (Senate, Romania) and Jos Boonstra (CESS) at the February Workshop in Romania.

Those exchanges undoubtedly contributed to the lively follow-up to the remarks of Dutch legislator Jan Dirk Blaauw

on the subject of acquiring accurate and reliable information for effective legislative oversight. The speaker gave numerous examples from practice in The Netherlands, including a careful explanation of the strict Dutch approach to budgetary control. This prompted the Romanian parliamentarians – and the representatives present from other South-East European states – to make many interesting comparisons with their own arrangements.

That said, in this session and others, participants often digressed into reflections on current security issues in the Balkans and speculation on different nations' prospects for integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. They were, however, brought back to the business of policy and financial accountability by Romanian parliamentarian Dorel Bahrin, who gave a valuable closing presentation on transparency in the conduct of defence and security affairs in the country. His observations stimulated a first-rate concluding discussion.

Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro

Setting Up Mechanisms for Democratic Oversight

In co-operation with the OSCE Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (OMIFRY) and the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), CESS and partner institute IES organised a very successful second national workshop in Belgrade on 15 and 16 February 2002. The venue was the well-equipped Sava Centre.

More than 70 persons attended – from the diplomatic community, the Serbian and Yugoslav legislatures, parliaments of neighbouring countries, the local media, NGOs and academic institutions.

Guest lecturers outlined the procedures and tools that elected representatives should have at their disposal in order to effectively oversee governments. Host-nation contributors described current obstacles to effective legislative oversight of the armed forces and security sector reform generally.

The visiting speakers included a CESS

Board member (former Dutch Defence Minister, and now Senator, Wim van Eekelen), two DCAF Fellows (Marina Caparini from Canada and Marie Vlachova of the Czech Republic), and one of Denmark's top defence journalists (Jorgen Dragsdahl).

Discussions focused on how 'obstacles to effective legislative oversight' might be overcome. According to one participant, a fundamental weakness of arrangements in the FRY – as it then was – is that elected representatives hold their seats as party nominees and do not, therefore, have security of tenure. They are thus subject to party pressure, explicit or implicit, and conduct themselves accordingly. Another observer drew the obvious conclusion. The problem of inadequate scrutiny of the executive(s) cannot be solved in the legislature(s). It has to be addressed in the party offices, because that is where real power lies.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that a theoretically sound framework of rules and procedures exists. For instance, a minister can be ordered to appear before parliament. However, committees cannot – or do not – routinely summon office-holders to testify. Nor are there fixed schedules for committee meetings. In fact, due to the exigencies of the parliamentary timetable, key committees hardly get a chance to meet and do serious business. An adviser to an opposition party remarked that, as the procedures are in place, the weakness of legislative oversight is attributable to the ruling coalition's unwillingness to follow 'due process' (and, presumably, the lack of insistence that they do).

As the DEMCON-SEE Calendar shows, by the time this bulletin appears in print a third workshop will have been held in what was the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at picturesque Sveti Stefan in Montenegro.

Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Parliaments and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina

On 8 and 9 March 2002, the first of three national workshops for Bosnia-Herzegovina was held at the Holiday Inn, Sarajevo.

There were some 50-60 participants. Most were elected representatives from the different (state- and entity-level) legislatures of the host country. However, other attendees – MPs from elsewhere in South-Eastern Europe, staff of the OSCE Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, local journalists, analysts and academics – contributed additional perspectives.

The security sector in Bosnia-Herzegovina is, of course, like no other in the region, because of the unique political structure of the country defined in the 1995 Dayton Peace agreement. In one of the opening presentations at the meeting, Dr Bisera Turkovic – Director of our Bosnian partner institute, the Centre for Security Studies – said Dayton had been a diplomatic masterpiece, but the accord preserved and supported ethnic separatism and had made Bosnia a *de facto* protectorate of the United Nations (and the European Union). She argued that the time has come to return the responsibilities of government to the people.



Maria Gancheva is a member of the staff of Bulgaria's National Assembly. She attended the Sarajevo Workshop as a guest and was a member of the 'home team' in Sofia.

The Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sead Avdic, added that until this was done elected representatives would be unable to establish satisfactory oversight of the military. To strengthen democratic control, he argued, the country's armed forces – and in practical terms there are three more or less separate armies – needed to be brought under a single unified command (and, implicitly, made accountable to the 'state-level' legislature rather than at the 'entity-level').

In the circumstances there was in-

evitably great interest in the workshop sessions devoted to looking at the experiences of other 'transition states' engaged in security-sector reform. Key contributors here were Hans Born of the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) and David Betz from the University of Glasgow, both of whom reviewed best and worst practice in this connection. Guest MPs also reported on arrangements and practices in their own countries.

In a final session, Marko Amidzic, a Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, stressed that, while 'democratic control' is first and foremost a legislative responsibility, in fulfilling it parliamentarians require the support of the print and broadcast media, NGOs and academics.

Dr Turkovic closed the workshop by reminding all present that overcoming Bosnia-Herzegovina's current problems – in security-sector affairs as elsewhere – would most of all require an all-round commitment to dialogue, compromise and consensus.

Partner Profile

The Centre for Security Studies (CSS), located in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, was founded in April 2001 and became our partner the same year. The Centre is an independent, non-governmental organisation dedicated to encouraging informed debate on security matters, and to promoting and sustaining democratic structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina and South-East Europe. Its director and our contact person Dr. Bisera Turkovic has been her country's Ambassador to the OSCE, Croatia, Hungary, and Minister for European Integration. She and her staff, consisting of both local and international professionals, are engaged in the publication of research papers and the organisation of seminars and workshops.

Thanks to the efforts of CSS at the first DEMCON-workshop in Sarajevo, there were participants of both entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. CESS is looking forward to the following jointly organised DEMCON workshop which will be held in September 2002.

Sofia, Bulgaria

Promoting Effective Legislative Oversight of the Security Sector

For Bulgaria as for Romania we scheduled only one national workshop in the DEMCON-SEE programme. This was held on 3 and 4 May 2002 at the magnificent Boyana Residence on the outskirts of Sofia. There were 40-50 participants: several Bulgarian government officials, academicians and academics plus parliamentary staff members; observers from the capital's diplomatic community; guests from the legislatures of neighbouring Macedonia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina – but only a handful of representatives from the host country's own elected chamber.



Hans Born (DCAF) spoke at both the Sarajevo and Sofia Workshops.

The poor turnout of local legislators was a disappointment to CESS, to the Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS, our partner in Bulgaria), and to the sponsors of a new Programme for Support and Orientation of the National Assembly (SONA) who were associated with the event. Moreover, it was remarked upon by the Ambassador of The Netherlands – who opened the meeting and, later, entertained participants at her residence – and by her British counterpart (among others).

The absent elected representatives missed some good presentations, from Laura Cleary (United States), Tom McDonald (United Kingdom), Hans Born (The Netherlands), Wojciech Luczak (Poland) and the German Ambassador to Bulgaria, HE Ursula Seiler-Albring. They would have found the discussion periods informative also.

Dr Cleary reviewed Bulgaria's security-sector restructuring and efforts to improve accountability and democratic-

style civil-military relations. She also reminded her audience that structural reform is an ongoing process and that Bulgaria must continue to put flesh on the bones of its democracy.

Mr McDonald described how an audit office can serve legislative oversight, if MPs really want to exercise scrutiny.

In subsequent parallel discussion periods on policy accountability and financial accountability, and a follow-on plenary debate, there were a number of noteworthy interventions. For instance, Todor Tagarev – a former top official, now Programme Director of the Centre for National Security and Defence Research at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences – gave an example of where putting 'flesh on the bones' is needed. He said that on procurement issues the MoD uses the secrecy provisions in legislation too readily so that the National Assembly is marginalized in decision-making on force modernisation matters.

This prompted an observation by (retired) General Anyu Angelov – recently appointed Director of Defence Planning at the MoD – that one must not confuse accountability and authority. The executive must be accountable for its actions and its spending. However, an administration must have the authority to act and to spend without *constant* reference to parliament, otherwise it would be impossible to govern.

Relevant to resolution of such dilemmas is study of 'best practice' in other countries, the subject of the presentation by Hans Born (who works at the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces). Also, attentive media can check on abuse of authority, as Polish defence journalist Wojciech Luczak (Poland) explained.

As for holding governments to account effectively, Ambassador Seiler-Albring – once a member of the Bundestag's Budget Committee – provided a vivid description of how this is accomplished in Germany. Those absent members of Bulgaria's National Assembly could have learned a lot from her outstanding exposition.

Partner Profile

Our Bulgarian DEMCON-SEE partner, the Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), is situated in Sofia. ISIS is a non-profit, independent research institute headed by our contact person Dr. Plamen Pantev.

The objective of the institute is to organise and stimulate security and international studies, mainly focussing on national security and foreign policy of Bulgaria, including civil-military relations. Their interest and knowledge concerns furthermore European integration, Balkan and Black Sea regional security, and the theory and practice of international negotiations.

ISIS disseminates its knowledge through the publication of research papers, and by organising conferences, seminars, lectures and courses.

The DEMCON workshop in Sofia was the first joint venture between CESS and ISIS. Both partners were satisfied with the co-operation as well as the conduct of the workshop. CESS looks forward to further co-operation with ISIS within the programme.

DEMCON What the papers say

CESS is happy to note that the DEMCON-events are well covered in the media in South-East Europe. Below a selection of quotes from the printed media:

"The road for the redefinition and restructuring of the political system of BiH, concluded the seminar, is the road of dialogue, compromise and consensus on the priorities for the arrangement of the security sector."

"Prva linija", magazine of the Ministry of Defence of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

[The workshop made clear] "the Bulgarian achievements in the sphere of DEMCON and the determination of Bulgarian legislature to continue to improve its work in the field."

Diplomatic Review, Bulgaria

"A veil of secrets is being lifted."

Politika, Serbia and Montenegro

"New reflections on a new threat
The events from 9/11 forge the need for multilateral cooperation in formulating internal and international security strategies. This was the shared conviction of the participants at the Regional Conference organised by CESS and EURISC in Bucharest."

Romania Libera, Romania.

Interns



George Grama

Almost three years ago Dorlin Muresan – a colleague at Bucharest's European Institute for Risk, Security and Communication Management (EURISC) – had the privilege to inaugurate what was to become a tradition: the intern's 'corner' in *SecurityMatters*.

According to this tradition, you are about to read an expression of thanks and account of achievements from another individual who was lucky enough to be invited to Groningen to get an inside look at how one of the most remarkable organisations in the Central and Eastern European security field actually works.

And since I have nothing against good traditions, I'll first thank CESS for one important lesson I've learned: how to get concrete valuable output from experts participating in projects like ESCADA (Extending Security Co-operation and Defence Arrangements in South East Europe). Assisting the CESS team in organising that project's *Planning Meeting* was one of my tasks.

The second was a research assignment in Romania as 'country correspondent' providing input for the TBP-SEE exercise. (The Transparency-Building Project aims to describe the formal institutional arrangements and current practice which provide transparency of policy-making, planning, programming, budgeting and administration vis-à-vis the armed forces in eight Southeast European countries.)

The long co-operation between our organisations means I've had the opportunity to work together with the CESS team before (on DEMCON-SEE events, for instance). But only now, after meeting the 'new faces' and experiencing the famous coffee/tea breaks, I've understood what 'CESS spirit' really means.

'*Dank u wel!*' – all of you – for making my staying in Groningen a useful and very pleasant experience.

And so to the final bullets on the list: thanks for the friendly CESS bike, a must in this lovely Dutch university town; and to the people of Groningen, 'who might not know it, but they are beautiful'.

Proposals

The workload at CESS Groningen in the first months of 2002 precluded serious work on proposal development. However, our **TBP-SUSSplus** submission – for an inquiry like TBP-SEE, but covering selected Soviet Union Successor States – is still with DCAF; and a revision of the **SCOPE-North** programme – described in earlier issues of *Security Matters* – is about to be undertaken for presentation to potential sponsors in the third quarter of the year.

In addition, some preliminary thinking has been done on a possible ESCADA-like research exercise – see *Projects* above – covering a number of Black Sea littoral states and Moldova; and the possibility of mounting a stand-alone education and training effort in Moldova is also under consideration.

Publications

Research Director David Greenwood has had an article published, in the Dutch language, in the journal *Atlantisch Perspectief*. The piece that he submitted, in English, was entitled 'NATO Enlargement – the Bulgarian Candidacy': a kind translator did the rest.

Senior Programme Manager Sander Huisman has the distinction of authorship of both the first Occasional Paper to bear the logo of the newly-created Institute for Security Studies of the European Union and a short article in the first



Our colleague Sander Huisman now knows (almost) all there is to know about Kaliningrad.

Newsletter of the Institute. The Occasional Paper is entitled *A new European Union policy for Kaliningrad* and is the product of his work in Paris – on a short-term visiting fellowship at the predeces-

or WEU Institute – in November and December 2001. The article is also about Kaliningrad.

Programme Manager Jos Boonstra has been in print too, in the Dutch journal *Oost-Europa Verkenningen* with a piece on 'One Year of Communist Policy in Moldova'.

Public Activities

In **January** Margriet Drent (Executive Director) and David Greenwood (Research Director) went to Brussels at the invitation of Slovenia's Mission to NATO, to explain the Centre's evaluation of that country's preparedness for accession to the Organisation.

In **February** Sander Huisman (Senior Programme Manager) was the Centre's representative at a meeting in The Hague convened by the Netherlands' Helsinki Committee. The gathering was part of preparations for the Dutch assumption of the Chairman-in-Office position at the OSCE in January 2003. (He attended a further meeting in April.) Towards the end of February Jos Boonstra (Programme Manager) went to Chisinau to speak at an event organised in the Moldovan capital by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the local Euro-Atlantic Centre and the Moldovan Institute for Public Policy (IPP).

Peter Volten (Director) was twice in Bucharest during **March**: first for a meeting under the aegis of PFP; and a second time to attend, as an invited Observer, the Vilnius 9+1 meeting (of aspirants to NATO membership). Closer to home, Sander Huisman made one of his regular contributions to journalists' training in the University of Groningen.

In early **April** David Greenwood presented a discussion paper at a small Roundtable convened in Skopje by the President of the Republic of Macedonia. In the middle of the month Sander Huisman went to Geneva for a meeting of a DCAF group on criteria for gauging success and failure in democratic control of armed forces. In The Netherlands, throughout the month, Peter Volten had a

lot of media engagements as the debate about Dutch participation in the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) programme intensified.

At the end of **May** Jos Boonstra went to Skopje to speak at another DCAF-sponsored event; and David Greenwood was in Sofia to chair one panel and speak on a second at a Bulgarian MoD-sponsored colloquium on resource allocation and resources management in defence.

People

Groningen graduate **Sander Maathuis** joined the Centre in January 2002 as a Programme Assistant. He had some demanding jobs thrust upon him early – assisting at the DEMCON-SEE Workshop in Sarajevo (early March), taking a major role in organising the ESCADA Planning Meeting (mid-April) and co-ordinating the DEMCON-SEE Workshop in Sofia (beginning of May) – but he has learned quickly. **Ruta Avulyte** from Lithuania came on the payroll in January also – to work as a researcher on the TBP-SEE investigation (see *Projects* on p. 2 above). She has already made short field trips to London, Bucharest and Belgrade, Geneva and Sofia, but now faces long weeks of deskwork at CESS.



Sander Maathuis and Ruta Avulyte.

We were pleased to have **George Grama** – from our Romanian partner-institute of long standing, the EURISC foundation – on an internship in March-April (served partly in Bucharest, doing TBP-SEE work, and partly in Groningen, helping with the ESCADA Planning Meeting). (See story opposite.)

Executive Director **Margriet Drent** has been on leave since the end of January. With good reason: in March she had a baby daughter. Congratulations to Margriet, a warm welcome to Tess.